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MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT

Lejondals Castle, Bro, Sweden
June 24-26, 1988

A REPORT BY

SENATOR TERRY SANFORD

TO THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

SEPTEMBER 1988

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., July 29, 1988.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,
Chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This report is based on my participation at the meeting of the International Commission for Central American Recovery and Development which took place in Lejondals Castle outside of Stockholm Sweden, June 24-26, 1988. At this meeting, the members of the International Commission reviewed and critiqued the preliminary recommendations presented by the five committees established by the Commission. Tremendous progress is being made by the Commission as it works toward the formulation of the final recommendations for the best strategies designed to achieve economic well being and peace in Central America.

The Commission desires to keep the preliminary recommendations within its domain in order to facilitate progress toward the completion of its report by February 1989. In this brief overview, I will attempt to give my colleagues in the Senate a flavor for the work being done by the Commission, as illustrated by the meeting at Lejondals Castle.

Sincerely,

TERRY SANFORD.

REPORT OF TRIP TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT, JUNE 24-26, LEJONDALS CASTLE, BRO, SWEDEN

BY SENATOR TERRY SANFORD

Origins of the International Commission for Central American Recovery and Development

The idea to establish the International Commission for Central American Recovery and Development was born in the exciting and exhilarating political atmosphere of the creation of the Central American peace process. I was in the audience that day in early February 1987, when the five Central American presidents signed the preamble to what is known as the Arias Peace Plan, and dedicated themselves to seeking a negotiated political settlement to the bitter strife that pitted brother against brother, neighbor against neighbor.

I thought that a logical component of the peace plan would be a program to rebuild the nations of the region whose economies and people have suffered through years of devastation caused by the political turmoil. It was also my belief that peace in the region and economic development were inextricably linked. It would take a dynamic international effort, somewhat on the order of a Marshall Plan but of course scaled down to the realities of the Central American situation. That is why some have called the idea a "Mini-Marshall Plan." It was thought that this effort should be more than a bilateral U.S. aid program to Central America but a truly coordinated international effort involving the developed countries of Europe as well as Japan. What was needed was an international body to conduct a comprehensive in-depth analysis of the prospects for real development in Central America.

The Central American presidents themselves have expressed the need for an internationally supported economic development component of the peace process as expressed in the various underlying documents. The Esquipulas II agreement of August 1987 states, "From the international community, we solicit respect and help. We have Central American roads to peace and development, but we need help to make them come true. We ask for an international treatment that guarantees development for peace to be long-standing. We firmly reiterate that peace and development are inseparable."

Formation of the International Commission

Thus an International Commission made up of 45 members (See Appendix A for list of members of the Commission) from 17 countries was established to conduct the studies that would lead to the

objectives of promoting peace and development. Its leadership comes from Central America because it is the people of the region who should have control over their own destiny. Distinguished economists, specialists in development, social scientists and leaders in the business and political world from Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, and Europe comprise this illustrious Commission. Co-chairs of the Commission are Arthur Levitt, Jr., Chairman of the American Stock Exchange, and Sonia Picado, Executive Director of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights located in San Jose, Costa Rica. Staff and resource support for the Commission is provided by the Center for International Development at Duke University.

The Meeting at Lejondals Castle

I participated in the second Meeting of the International Commission for the Reconstruction and Development of Central America from June 24 to June 26, at Lejondals Castle outside of Stockholm. The host for the meeting was the Swedish International Development Agency and the Swedish Foreign Ministry. In addition to the Commissioners, also attending as observers were authorities from international organizations, as well as diplomats and political leaders. This meeting was a followup to the inaugural meeting of the Commission which was held in San Jose, Costa Rica in December, 1987. The meeting at Lejondals Castle focused on the preliminary reports of the five working committees established in San Jose to develop strategies in five areas: basic human needs, attaining financial stability, increasing productivity, strengthening regional institutions, and promoting democratic participation. The Commissioners in attendance worked long hours within the respective committees as well as in plenary sessions to knead the divergent analyses and recommendations into common strategies that will become the Commission's final product to be announced at the last meeting scheduled for Guatemala in February, 1989.

In my opening remarks to the Commission, I expressed my enthusiasm for the progress that has been made to date and noted the extraordinary talent that this project has brought together. I noted that the Commission set out to be a Central American plan and that is what it is turning out to be. The Commissioners in accepting their appointment have undertaken a responsibility to respond to an historic opportunity. We are establishing a worldwide dialog for democracy; and we can't have development without democracy.

Pierre Schori, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Sweden and a Member of the Commission, welcomed the participants on behalf of the Government of Sweden. He spoke of the necessity for comprehensive economic recovery in Central America and proudly noted the fact that in the next fiscal year Sweden is tripling its assistance to Central America aimed at promoting regional cooperation. He also spoke of the commitment of the Nordic countries to increase development assistance to the region. He concluded his remarks by stating the truism that "there will be no real and stable peace without economic progress and social justice."

Co-chair Sonia Picado noted the rich pluralism within the Commission which permits a wide divergence of views but yet is united in the common desire to help Central America. She touched a human chord when she spoke of the need for development with justice and with human rights. In Central America there are too many poor and undernourished children; the people of Central America deserve better, she said.

Arthur Levitt spoke of the commitment of the Commissioners, independent and diverse, from many nations and from varied ideologies, who gathered together with the single objective to help resolve the problems affecting Central America. He was enthusiastic about the contribution that the Commission was going to make.

The following, based on the reports of the various committees and the discussion in the plenary sessions, indicates the issues with which the Commissioners are dealing as they proceed toward final formulation of their recommendations for regional development strategies.

Committee 1—Addressing the Most Basic Needs

This committee co-chaired by Ricardo Stein (Guatemala), former Deputy Executive Director of FUNDASAL, the Salvadoran Foundation for Development and Housing, and Carlyle Guerra de Macedo (Brazil), Director of the Pan American Health Organization, is working on recommendations to insure basic needs in the priority areas of food security, health and nutrition, potable water and environmental sanitation, housing, education, basic rights, and reconstruction of social and physical infrastructure. The Committee is looking at groups such as refugees, the poorest sectors of the population, and biologically vulnerable groups such as pregnant women and very young children.

Committee 2—Attaining Financial Sustainability

Co-chaired by Guillermo Bueso (Honduras), former President of the Central Bank of Honduras, and Albert Fishlow (United States), chairman of the Department of Economics at the University of California at Berkeley, this Committee is preparing recommendations to achieve financial sustainability by considering steps to achieve proper trade balances, capital flows, and appropriate levels of government taxation and spending. The following issues are among those being studied by the Committee: Multilateral and bilateral debt, debt to private creditors, conditionality, exchange rate and trade policies, expansion of intraregional trade, the role of financial intermediation, and fiscal reform.

Committee 3—Moving From Survivability to Productivity

Gert Rosenthal (Guatemala), Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean, and Martin Pineiro (Argentina), Director General of the Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Cooperation, co-chair this Committee whose mandate is to examine long-term strategies to stimulate productive capacities of the economies of the five Central American states. The Committee is identifying promising sectors of industry, agro-

industry, agriculture, and services and looking into strategies to encourage these sectors. The committee is formulating recommendations that will be made to the international community to fulfill these objectives.

Committee 4—Promoting Cooperation by Strengthening and Creating Regional Institutions

The Commission directed this committee, co-chaired by Xabier Gorostiaga (Nicaragua), Director of the Regional Association for Economic and Social Research (CRIES) in Managua, and David Ibarra (Mexico), former Finance Minister of Mexico, to examine the role of regional institutions in reviving the Central American economies. Official organizations, including the Central American Parliament, as well as non-governmental organizations, political parties, and multilateral institutions are the focus. Among the areas the Committee is studying in formulating its recommendations are trade, industrial policy, cooperation within existing regional institutions, and the role of nongovernmental organizations (NGO's).

Committee 5—Promoting Democratic Participation in Development

The Committee, co-chaired by Daniel Oduber (Costa Rica), former President of Costa Rica, 1974–78, and now President of the Governing Board of the National Liberation Party, and Bill Dyal (United States), President of St. Johns College (Maryland) and founding President of the Inter-American Foundation, is looking into the development of channels for democratic participation in Central America. Governmental institutions, the education sector, the media, access and opportunities for various sectors such as women, and grass roots organizations are among the areas under study for the Committee's recommendations.

In addition to the Committee meetings and the plenary sessions, six roundtables were held during the weekend in which the observers were invited to participate along with the Commissioners. On Saturday, the roundtables covered the topics of regional political integration, poverty alleviation, and world trade prospects. I moderated the roundtable on aid coordination on Sunday. International debt and the role of nongovernmental organizations (NGO's) were the subject of the other Sunday roundtables.

Conclusion

The meeting of the International Commission in Sweden has reenforced my belief that the final recommendations that will be announced at the meeting in February will provide a workable formula for the recovery and development of Central America. The cochairs of the Commission share my optimism. Arthur Levitt described the meeting at Lejondals Castle "perhaps the single most important meeting in the life of the Commission." Sonia Picado stated that ". . . the work of the Commission can help move Central America toward peace and toward true social justice." She noted that "Lasting peace depends upon a strong economic founda-

tion that can provide jobs and growth and hope for the future." I am sure that all the Commissioners share the sentiments expressed by Swedish Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Pierre Schori who stated that "Contributing to the development of Central America is a challenge but also a moral obligation for the industrialized world."

Finally, I want to note the support that the United States Congress is giving to the International Commission. On July 27, the Committee on Foreign Relations approved by voice vote, with no dissenting votes, and reported S. Con. Res. 63, a bipartisan resolution which expresses the sense of Congress regarding the formulation and implementation of a regional economic development and recovery program for Central America. On August 5, the Senate overwhelmingly approved the resolution 92–3. (See Appendix B.)

APPENDIX A

COMMISSION MEMBERS

Co-Chairs: Arthur Levitt, Jr.
Chairman, American Stock Exchange

Sonia Picado
Executive Director, Inter-American Institute of Human Rights

Rodrigo Botero (Colombia)
Rodrigo Botero is a private consultant in Bogotá, Colombia. He served as Colombia's Minister of Finance from 1974 to 1976 and was a member of the Brandt Commission on International Development Issues. He is the founder of the Foundation for Higher Education and Development in Bogotá and is a member of the board of the Ford Foundation and the Aspen Institute.

Guillermo Bueso (Honduras)
Guillermo Bueso, a private banker, is a former President of the Central Bank of Honduras. He previously served as economic advisor to the President of Honduras and as Executive Director for Central America at the International Monetary Fund.

Claude Cheysson (France)
Claude Cheysson is Commissioner for Mediterranean Policies and North-South Relations for the Commission of the European Community.

Alfredo Hernández Contreras (Guatemala)
Alfredo Hernández Contreras is the General Manager of the Guatemalan Federation of Coffee-Producing Cooperatives (FEDECOCAGUA).

Juan José del Pino (Venezuela)
Juan José del Pino is the Secretary General of the Federation of Venezuelan Workers.

Pedro Abelardo Delgado (El Salvador)
Pedro Delgado is a management and financial consultant who serves as an adviser to CABEI, the Pan American Development Foundation and the Central Bank of El Salvador. He has held positions with the Interamerican Development Bank, the Permanent Secretariat for Integration of the Central American Economies (SIECA) and the Salvadoran Ministry of the Economy.

Enrique Dreyfus (Nicaragua)
Enrique Dreyfus is Honorary Chairman and past President of the Chief Council for Private Enterprise (COSEP). A member of the advisory board of the Pan American Development Foundation, he is also the former Chairman of the Nicaraguan Chamber of Industry.

William M. Dyal, Jr. (United States)
William Dyal is President of St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland. After serving as a Peace Corps Country Director, he was the founding President of the Inter-American Foundation and President of AFS Intercultural Programs.

Lawrence Eagleburger (United States)
Lawrence Eagleburger is President of Kissinger Associates, a firm that provides strategic consulting services to international corporations. His twenty-seven years in the U.S. Foreign Service included terms as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs and Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs.

Richard E. Feinberg (United States)
Richard Feinberg is Vice President of the Overseas Development Council. He has worked as a Latin American specialist at the Department of State and as an international economist for the Treasury Department and the House Banking Committee. He has written extensively on international economics and Latin American politics.

Albert Fishlow (United States)
Albert Fishlow is Chairman of the Department of Economics at the University of California at Berkeley. He has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and as Director of Yale University's Concilium on International and Area Studies.

Irma Acosta de Fortín (Honduras)
Irma Acosta de Fortín is the Rector and founder of the Universidad José C. del Valle. She has served as Honduras's Director of International Cooperation for Development and as director of a municipal capacitation project jointly sponsored by The World Bank, USAID, and the Government of Honduras.

Xabier Gorostiaga (Nicaragua)
Xabier Gorostiaga, S.J., is the Director of the Regional Association for Economic and Social Research (CRIES) in Managua, Nicaragua. He was the founding Director of the Panamanian Center for Social Studies and Action and an economic advisor to Panama during the negotiations on the Panama Canal Treaties.

Wolf Grabendorff (West Germany)
Wolf Grabendorff is the Director of the Institute for European-Latin American Relations. He has served as the Latin American Correspondent for the German television network ARD and has conducted research in the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Mexico, and Peru.

Francisco de Paula Gutiérrez (Costa Rica)
Francisco de Paula Gutiérrez is Director of the Graduate Program in Business Economics at INCAE in Costa Rica and vice-president of an economic and financial consulting firm. He has served as an adviser to CABEI and to the Central Bank of Costa Rica.

Arnold Harberger (United States)
Arnold Harberger is an economics professor with appointments at the University of California at Los Angeles and the University of Chicago. He is Director of the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Chicago and of the Program in Latin American Economic Research at UCLA.

David Ibarra (Mexico)
David Ibarra, former Finance Minister of Mexico, is a consultant to Pemex and the United Nations. He has served as Director General of the National Bank of Mexico and as Director of the Mexico Office of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).

Glenn P. Jenkins (Canada)
Glenn Jenkins is an Institute Fellow at the Harvard Institute for International Development. He has served as Canada's Assistant Deputy Minister for Tax Policy and as a research consultant for the Economic Council of Canada. He has worked for the Ford Foundation on energy policy and for The World Bank on taxation and pricing policies.

John T. Joyce (United States)
Jack Joyce is President of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen. He is an elected auditor of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the President's Advisory Committee on Mediation and Conciliation.

Walther Leisler Kiep (West Germany)
From 1965-1976, Walther Leisler Kiep was a member of the West German Bundestag, where he chaired the Committee on Development Assistance. The author of several books on development, he was the Chairman of the German Committee for the Economic Development of Turkey.

Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski (Peru)
Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski is Chairman of First Boston International and a Managing Director of the First Boston Corporation. Before joining First Boston in 1982, he was Minister of Energy and Mines for Peru. He has also worked for The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Arthur Levitt, Jr. (United States)
Arthur Levitt is Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the American Stock Exchange. From 1969-1978, he was President and Director of the investment firm of Shearson Hayden Stone Inc. He is Chairman of the American Business Conference Inc. and is a Director of the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives.

Sol M. Linowitz (United States)
Sol Linowitz, a Senior Partner of the international law firm Coudert Brothers, served as President Carter's personal representative for the Middle East Peace Negotiations and as co-negotiator for the Panama Canal Treaties. He has also served as U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States and Chairman of the Commission on U.S.-Latin American Relations.

Carlyle Guerra de Macedo (Brazil)
Carlyle Guerra de Macedo is Director of the Pan American Health Organization. He has served in numerous government positions in Brazil. Holding degrees in medicine and public health, he is a specialist in health planning, population, and economic and social development.

Juan Ramón Martínez (Honduras)
Juan Ramón Martínez is President of the Federation of Honduran Development Organizations. He is also an editorialist for *La Tribuna*.

Francisco Mayorga (Nicaragua)
Francisco Mayorga is an economist at INCAE, the Central American Management Institute. He has served on the board of CABEI and as an adviser to the Central Bank of Nicaragua.

Arturo Morales-Carrión (Puerto Rico)
Arturo Morales-Carrión is the Executive Director of the Puerto Rican Endowment for the Humanities and former President of the University of Puerto Rico. He served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and as a special adviser to the Organization of American States on the Alliance for Progress.

Roberto Murray-Meza (El Salvador)
Until recently, Roberto Murray-Meza was President of the El Salvador Foundation for Economic and Social Development. He has also served as President of FEDEPRICAP, a regional organization of business and private sector development foundations. He is currently President of his family's firm, La Constancia, S.A.

Orlando Nuñez (Nicaragua)
Orlando Nuñez is the Director of the Managua-based Center for the Study of Agrarian Reform. A sociologist, his most recent book is *Social Classes in Nicaragua*.

Daniel Oduber (Costa Rica)
Daniel Oduber was President of Costa Rica from 1974 to 1978. He is currently President of the Governing Board of Costa Rica's National Liberation Party and Vice President of the Socialist International.

Sonia Picado (Costa Rica)
Sonia Picado is Executive Director of the Interamerican Institute of Human Rights. As Dean of the Law School of the University of Costa Rica from 1980-1984, she was the first woman dean in Latin America. She has written and lectured extensively on human rights.

Martín Piñeiro (Argentina)
Martín Piñeiro is Director General of the Interamerican Institute for Agricultural Cooperation. He has served as an adviser to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and several regional agriculture and development organizations.

Gert Rosenthal (Guatemala)
Gert Rosenthal is the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean. Previously, he directed ECLAC's office in Mexico. He is a former Minister of Planning for Guatemala.

Pierre Schori (Sweden)
Pierre Schori is Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He served in Sweden's Office for International Development Cooperation and is a former international officer of the Social Democratic Party.

Jesús Silva-Herzog (Mexico)
Jesús Silva-Herzog is a former Finance Minister for Mexico.

Ricardo Stein (Guatemala)
Until recently, Ricardo Stein was Deputy Executive Director of FUNDASAL, the Salvadorean Foundation for Development and Housing. From 1980-1985, he was Director of the Center for Information, Documentation and Research Support of the University of Central America.

Peter Tarnoff (United States)
Peter Tarnoff is the President of the Council on Foreign Relations. From 1961-1982, he was a U.S. Foreign Service Officer and has held the posts of Executive Secretary of the State Department and Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

Edelberto Torres-Rivas (Guatemala)
Edelberto Torres-Rivas is Secretary General of FLACSO, the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences. From 1980-1984, he directed research programs at the Central American Institute of Public Administration. He has created and directed social science programs for universities in Mexico, Argentina and Costa Rica.

Constantino Urcuyo (Costa Rica)
Constantino Urcuyo is an economist at the University of Costa Rica and the Center for Research and Training in Public Administration.

Viron P. Vaky (United States)
Viron Vaky is a Senior Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Research Professor at the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University. He has served as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and as Ambassador to Costa Rica, Venezuela and Colombia.

Sally W. Yudelman (United States)
Sally Yudelman is a senior fellow at the International Center for Research on Women. She was an officer at the Inter-American Foundation and was Central American/Caribbean Planning and Program Officer for the Peace Corps.

José Federico Linares Martínez (Guatemala)

Federico Linares is the managing director of FIASA, an investment bank and is the former president of the Central Bank and Monetary Fund of Guatemala. He also has held positions with the Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI).

Abraham Rodríguez (El Salvador)

Abraham Rodriguez is the first designate to the Presidency of El Salvador. A founding member of the Salvadoran Christian Democratic Party, he was its presidential candidate in 1967. A lawyer, he has served as the Director of FUSADES, the Salvadoran Foundation for Economic and Social Development.

Luis Yañez-Barnuevo García (Spain)

Luis Yanez is Secretary of State for International Cooperation and for Iberoamerica. He is also President of ICI, the Institute for Iberoamerican Cooperation.

Dr. Juan Francisco Alfaro (Guatemala)

Juan Francisco Alfaro is Secretary General of the Confederation of Labor Unity of Guatemala.

APPENDIX B

100TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. CON. RES. 63

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AUGUST 8, 1988

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Congress regarding the formulation and implementation of a regional economic development and recovery program for Central America.

Whereas the perpetuation of individual poverty, the lack of trade and economic opportunities, the shortage of capital for investment, the absence of adequate transportation and communication facilities, and inadequate educational opportunities and health care facilities have long plagued the countries of Central America and have long mitigated against the prosperous and peaceful development of this crucial region of the Western Hemisphere;

Whereas significant progress continues to be made toward reliance on democratic institutions and initiatives for the orderly reconciliation of differences, both of which can lead to political stability and provide the foundation for economic growth;

Whereas economic prosperity and free and open societies lead to peaceful relationships with neighboring countries;

Whereas a condition of economic success is inevitably the removal of political hindrances such as armed conflict, repression, and the denial of basic political, social and economic rights;

Whereas all conditions indicate this is a propitious time for a renewed effort to formulate and implement plans for economic growth and development in Central America;

Whereas chances for the success of such a plan will be greatly enhanced if the formulation is accomplished through the initiative, and at the direction, of the involved Central American countries themselves; and

Whereas it would be in the enlightened self-interest of the United States to encourage and assist in the formulation and implementation of a regional economic development and recovery program for Central America: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that the President should—

(1) encourage and assist, as requested, the Central American countries of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Belize, and Nicaragua in their plan-

ning and formulation of a comprehensive long-range plan for their economic recovery and development, including the needed infrastructure, educational system, and monetary institutions to provide for the growth of opportunities for all people of Central America; and

(2) assist in the implementation of said plan, and encourage other countries in other parts of the world to join in extending such assistance to those Central American countries that have made—

(A) substantial progress toward peaceful relations and peacekeeping mechanisms as generally set forth in proposals currently being discussed by the presidents of the Central American countries of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua and, for purposes of this clause, progress in peaceful relations may be measured by efforts to achieve—

(i) national reconciliation, including a general amnesty for all political and related offenses in countries where there are armed conflicts, and dialog with all nonmilitary internal opposition groups,

(ii) a cease fire,

(iii) a free, fair, and open electoral process, with provision for the regular and periodic scheduling of elections,

(iv) the suspension of all military assistance from extraregional governments to irregular or insurgent forces,

(v) a prohibition upon the use of the territory of a Central American country to allow, directly or indirectly, individuals, organizations, or groups to attempt to destabilize the governments of other Central American countries,

(vi) arms control and reduction,

(vii) the establishment of a verification mechanism which provides for unimpeded on-site inspection,

(viii) continued dialogue among the governments of the five Central American countries for the purpose of evaluating implementation of the peace process; and

(ix) the undertaking of economic and cultural agreements to facilitate and accelerate development; and

(B) substantial progress toward an open political system in the spirit of the present negotia-

tions of the several Central American countries, and such progress in political systems may be measured by verifiable efforts to achieve—

(i) respect for democratic principles and political pluralism,

(ii) constitutional guarantees of, and actual protection for, individual civil liberties,

(iii) adherence to constitutional practices and procedures, including total civilian control over the military,

(iv) guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and freedom of assembly,

(v) safeguards of property rights and provision for economic self-determination,

(vi) a free, fair, and open electoral process, with provision for the regular and periodic scheduling of elections, and

(vii) a fair and impartial court system for the administration of justice and law enforcement.

Passed the Senate August 5, 1988.

Attest: WALTER J. STEWART,

Secretary.